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COUNTRY Poland

REPORT

SUBJECT Polish Communist Party Activities  
at Foreign Posts

DATE DISTR. 8 SEP 1960

NO. PAGES 1

REFERENCES RD

DATE OF  
INFO.PLACE &  
DATE ACQ.

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a report concerning Polish  
Communist Party (Polish United Workers Party - PZPR) activities at  
posts in foreign countries,

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The composition and duties of the local Basic  
Party Organizations (POP) and of the Section Party Organizations (OOP),  
as well as the PZPR Party Commission for supervising Polish students  
in foreign countries, are described.

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COUNTRY : Poland DATE DISTR. 4 August 1960  
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Polish Communist Party Activities at Foreign Posts

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I. Organization and Functions of Basic Party Organizations Outside of Poland

Controls exercised by the Polish United Workers Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza - PZPR) over its members at foreign service posts throughout the world are as complete and thorough as they are inside Poland. Just before he departs for a permanent assignment abroad, the PZPR member must personally appear at the Warsaw office of the Central Committee, Foreign Commission (Komisja Zagraniczna Komitetu Centralnego - KZKC) in order to receive final instructions from the Party and to turn in all of his PZPR credentials. This Commission was formerly called the Foreign Department of the Central Committee. These documents are returned to him at the end of his foreign tour after the party member reports to the KZKC in Warsaw and pays his dues covering earnings which have been deposited to his account in Polish zlotys during his absence.

Upon arrival at a foreign post the PZPR member is required to report to the Secretary of the local Basic Party Organization (Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna - POP), to which all PZPR members in the area belong. The POP does not accept temporary visitors, transients, or activists who remain in the area for only a short time. The POP is usually made up primarily of workers attached to embassies and legations. The POP reports directly to the KZKC in Warsaw. Consulates and other Polish government posts at which only two or three party members are employed have no Basic Party Organization. Usually the activists are attached to a POP unit at the nearest Polish diplomatic post. If such an arrangement is not practical because of distance or some other complicating factor, the activist reports directly to the Foreign Commission in Warsaw.

The KZKC office in Warsaw maintains complete records of all PZPR members employed outside the country and receives regular reports from the POP secretaries abroad and collects dues paid by the activists. These dues are based on the salaries paid to Polish workers in the currency of the country in which they work. Foreign Commission also arranges for the distribution of all party literature and especially the PZPR agitation-educational material for the use of each member. Through conversations with activists who return to Warsaw as well as through regular reports submitted by the POP secretaries, the KZKC is able to control and coordinate party activities abroad so that they comply with the decisions and plans of the central party organization in Poland.

If the number of PZPR members at any foreign service post is too large to be handled by one POP, the KZKC recommends the formation of two or more subordinate units.

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These are called Section Party Organizations (Oddzialowe Organizacje Partyjne - OGP). Such OGP's are usually attached to the Bureaus of Commercial Counsellors, which usually employ large numbers of Polish trade or technical specialists. They are also organized in the more active consulates or at embassies like the one in Moscow which has a large Polish staff. In keeping with the PZPR charter, all such party organizations have the privilege of choosing their own officers during annual elections which are held usually in the spring or the fall. The larger POP units elect an Executive Committee composed of from five to seven members and this group in turn selects its own Secretary and Assistant Secretary. The smaller POPs elect one Secretary and one assistant while the OGP's select only one Secretary to handle all party business. just as in Poland, where the party member boss supervises all of the PZPR preparatory activity as well as the PZPR election, so at each foreign post the choice of POP or OGP officer is under the direct supervision of the chief of mission. If anything, the control exercised over such party elections outside of Poland is even more strict because nothing is done without the personal supervision and approval of the ambassador or minister.

Even though the general procedures of POPs and OGP's abroad parallel those of comparable party units inside Poland, both the scope of foreign POP-OGP activity as well as the privileges of these organizations do not compare with those enjoyed by these units in Poland. Abroad the party unit has no influence on either the direction or the control of either the diplomatic, consular or commercial office to which its party member workers may be attached. POP or OGP secretaries are permitted only to assist top officials in implementing the programs which have been assigned to the post by either the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Foreign Trade. As a consequence, the Party Secretary at a foreign service post is subjected to so much control by the chief of mission that the latter, in effect, not only dictates the direction of POP-OGP cooperation with the mission but also determines its scope. In turn the extent to which an ambassador or minister can exercise his authority over the local party unit depends entirely upon his personal influence, position and friendships within the Central Committee or among important PZPR officials who hold government posts in Warsaw.

Subservience of the POP or the OGP to the chief of mission does not prevent the Party from wielding considerable influence over the individual PZPR activist. The Foreign Commission has charged these party organizations with watching over the "political-moral countenance" (czynosc i polityczne wyznaczniki) of PZPR members as well as keeping an eye on all non-party government employees at overseas posts. In carrying out these duties each POP-OGP prepares a written evaluation of the loyalty, effectiveness and abilities of every employee. These reports are sent regularly to the KZEC. Whenever

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the Secretary or a member of a POP Executive Committee travels to Poland, he submits a verbal report to the Foreign Commission in Warsaw. Such personal reports are usually made to Kazimierz SZENCZYK, who has been a member of this commission for many years. All of the correspondence exchanged by the POPs and OCPs with Warsaw is sent through the regular diplomatic pouch. All telegraphic communications use embassy or legation codes and radio facilities.

In accordance with PZPR regulations all party units in foreign countries are required to hold regular meetings at least once each month. Actually this rule is not strictly adhered to at most posts. When they are held, such meetings may be either "closed" or "open," the former being restricted to party members, while the latter are open to all permanently employed Polish workers as well as to visitors from Poland. In addition to the general meetings, the Executive Committees or the Party Secretaries may hold special closed sessions at which personnel matters, work plans, agendas for future meetings and confidential or secret matters concerning the work of the mission are discussed. The "closed" meetings, which are restricted to POP or OCP members, are usually devoted to discussions involving administrative matters, election of party officials, analysis of PZPR activity within Poland, formulation of plans for party activity at the post, or they may be devoted to various aspects of party work within the mission.

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[redacted] without exception, all such meetings are boring and dull. All of the activists as well as the non-party members are afraid to express critical views or opinions because if word should reach Warsaw the result would be immediate recall or perhaps an adverse comment in their personnel file. This could easily affect their careers in the foreign service. Nearly all of the discussions during these POP - OCP meetings are carried on by those few activists who are sure of their position in the PZPR. These always support all party directives and follow the ideological line dictated by Warsaw. [redacted] at all posts 50X1-HUM they invariably expressed approval of everything which was done officially and particularly lauded the stand taken by PZPR in respect to Polish internal and foreign affairs. Despite the fear of each Polish worker to express himself frankly about political matters, all those who participate in POP or OCP meetings never miss an opportunity to comment upon activities of their co-workers. Frequently these party meetings degenerate into vociferous struggles between factions or groups who fear 50X1-HUM that their privileged positions could be endangered by criticism. The final outcome of many of these verbal battles is that someone is hurriedly recalled to Poland, [redacted] such a returnee is usually an efficient worker or one who is 50X1-HUM technically qualified, but who does not belong to the Party. Those who have the most support within the Party headquarters in Warsaw or have friends in influential PZPR positions always come out on top. This atmosphere of intrigue, distrust and suspicion prevails within all of the larger party organizations at Polish foreign service posts. Not only do such working conditions make life of the average Polish foreign service employee unbearable, but they also adversely affect efficiency, output and even family life at all of the posts.

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From time to time the Foreign Commission organizes special regional meetings in Warsaw to which all of the POP secretaries are invited. Such meetings usually include all party officials from a given area. Under Central Committee direction, the participants discuss POP programs, methods of implementing party directives, and exchange ideas on how to make the POP organization more effective in implementing the PZPR programs for the ideological indoctrination of activists. The last such meeting [redacted] was held in Warsaw either during the fall of 1959 or the spring of 1960. A report of the proceedings was sent to all POP secretaries in foreign countries. It criticized the work of POP units in general and gave no specific examples of what the party officials disliked. The report also failed to include any suggestions as to how party work at foreign posts could be improved.

All PZPR members employed in foreign countries are required to pay regular dues. These are based on the salaries paid to them by the Polish government in foreign currencies. The collection of party dues which are based on salary paid into the workers' accounts in Polish sloty in Warsaw, is made after the activist returns to Poland. These payments are identical with those collected from activists of comparable rank or position inside Poland. On the other hand, dues based on the portion of the activists' salary paid to him by the government in the currency of the country in which he serves are established in accordance with the following scales: Ambassadors and Ministers who belong to salary groups H-1, H-2, and H-3, pay dues amounting to 3.5% of their basic pay; for higher diplomatic ranks in groups A, B and C, but which are below the top ranks, the dues are 3% of basic pay. All other diplomatic personnel below these groups as well as the administrative and technical workers who have no diplomatic rank and who belong to salary groups D, E, and F pay 2% of their basic salaries. Administrative and technical workers belonging to groups G, H, and I pay 1.5%, while the rest of the technical workers belonging to salary groups K, L, and M contribute 1% of their basic salary to the PZPR. Non-working wives who belong to the Party are required to pay dues amounting to 0.25% of the husband's salary in the currency of the country in which he serves. Collection of all payments is made by the POP Secretary. He deposits the funds with the post cashier who carries it in his accounts as a Central Committee "Internal Account". (Konto wewnętrzne Komitetu Centralnego). In countries where the Polish employees are paid in hard currencies (i.e., dollars, pounds sterling) the POP Secretaries are usually instructed to forward such funds by diplomatic post directly to the Foreign Commission in Warsaw. By having the "hard currency" payments sent directly to the KKCC, the Party avoids complying with the Polish government directives which require that all such currencies obtained by any government institutions or agencies as well as by private individuals, must be placed in the special Polish government "hard currency account". All sloty payments made on the basis of conversion of funds from this account are effected at the official sloty rate. Since such an exchange would result in a financial loss to the Party and in a profit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the PZPR dues collected in "hard currencies" are usually forwarded directly to party headquarters by classified pouch.

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In addition to the performance of routine tasks associated with their party position, all PGP and OGP Secretaries and Executive Committee members are required to assist the principal officer in carrying out the duties of his office. Since these mission chiefs are usually the very same activists who have the final word in the nomination of the party officials, the PGP and OGP Secretaries are always reliable, docile, trusted and cooperative and they willingly carry out all orders or suggestions made by their superiors. Even though these Secretaries or committee members have no special privileges because they hold these party posts, the principal officer depends primarily upon them to furnish an evaluation of the "political-moral countenance" (obliczne polityczne - moralne) of each of his subordinates. If there is a difference of opinion between him and the PGP Secretary, this usually concerns administrative-personnel matters and never involves PZPR activities or questions of a political nature.

**II. Influence of Gomułka on PGP Activity in Foreign Countries**

During October 1956 and in the next few months which followed the political changes in Warsaw, the new Party Secretary, Wlodek Gomułka, exercised no influence over the PGP and OGP units at foreign posts. [redacted] in general 50X1-HUM  
all PZPR activists serving abroad during this period exercised great caution when expressing opinions about the events inside Poland. [redacted] this 50X1-HUM  
conspiration was due to a number of factors. The following were among the most important reasons for this behavior.

- 1) For opportunistic reasons many PZPR activists were afraid to commit themselves in support of what at that time appeared to them to be a development with an "uncertain future". Premature support of Gomułka could result in serious consequences in the future if he were discredited.
- 2) During October 1956, both the Foreign Commission as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent classified messages to the Polish foreign service workers abroad to advise them that western press reports about a political upheaval growing out of October events were completely unfounded. Warsaw told the workers to maintain calm, retain their balance, and to be discreet in making any comments or observations to local journalists. All directives emphasized that there was "unity in party leadership" in Poland and that efforts were being made to correct "distortions and mistakes".
- 3) Events in Hungary and the armed Soviet intervention created so much consternation among PZPR members abroad that they had no desire to take an active part in correcting party "distortions and mistakes". They were also afraid to commit themselves either in favor of the Gomułka faction or the elements opposing the "October" reforms.
- 4) All of the letters received during this period by party activists abroad

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from friends and relatives in Poland were written with caution and they left many things unsaid. Party friends writing from Poland invariably recommended that their colleagues abroad exercise caution.

- 5) Ever since the PZPR came to power in Poland, all foreign service workers were carefully hand-picked for their jobs abroad by the Foreign Section of the Central Committee, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Foreign Trade from among the most trusted, faithful and devoted PZPR members. A great proportion of these chosen received most of their educational training during the Stalinist era between 1948 and 1956.
- 6) Most of the more experienced workers at foreign service posts knew that the deciding role in the conduct of all activities within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was played by the so-called "Moscow group". This was headed by SZKRESZYSZSKI and MASZCZYSKI, both of whom had the backing of many influential persons in top PZPR positions. Despite the October 1956 changes this group had not lost much of its influence. 50X1-HUM  
the substitution of Adam RAPACKI for Stanislaw Szkrepszowski in the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs pointed up the fact that there was actually no decrease in the influence of this "Moscow group". Subsequent changes made in the foreign service, particularly after the middle of 1958, tend to confirm the assumptions made by party activists at foreign posts regarding the transient nature of the October changes in Poland.

### III. POP in Moscow from 1952 to 1956

With its 50 members, the Basic Party Organization attached to the Polish Embassy in Moscow was one of the largest PZPR organizations abroad. The First Secretary of the Embassy also acted as Secretary of the POP, which was divided into two OOPs. One of these, composed of 30 members, included all of the activists employed at the Embassy as well as the permanent Polish Press Agency correspondent in Moscow, Bronislaw MAJYCZAK, the Polish announcer for Radio Moscow, WOJCECHOWICZ, and the representative of the Polish Airlines LOT 50X1-HUM  
The second group was made up of workers attached to the Bureau of the Commercial Counsellor and one Polish representative named ROZANSKI, who worked with the International Commission for Economic Cooperation. This second OOP had 20 members.

Because both the chief of mission as well as the director of the Bureau of the Commercial Counsellor were old time party members who had close connections with important PZPR officials in the Central Committee, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the POP had practically no influence over them. Ambassador Wacław LENIOWSKI's background, which included serving as Vice-Minister of Public Security and membership in the Central Committee, placed him above all criticism. Similarly, party activists like Rozanski and DODKIEW

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were so highly regarded among the PZPR elite in Warsaw that neither the PGP or the OGP dared to differ with them on any party matters. Among the other influential PGP members in Moscow there were also two graduates of the Central Committee's Central Party School in Warsaw. These graduates were J. BAHAK, and Wladyslaw NAPIERAJ. Most of the other PGP activists were regarded as being tried and true friends of the USSR because they belonged to the Association of Polish Patriots in the USSR during World War II.

Even though a small group of PGP members began to waver ideologically after the events which followed Stalin's death, the liquidation of Beria, the exposure of the "doctors' plot", the flight and subsequent exposures made by Josef SWIATLO and Khrushchev's exposure of some of Stalin's crimes, practically all of them refrained from making critical comments or observations. Nevertheless,

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the Polish party activists were embarrassed by these developments and some even made timid comments concerning them during conversations with their closest PZPR friends. Naturally all refrained from expressing their views during PGP sessions, so all of the meetings held in Moscow were dull and uninteresting. there was so much praise for the Soviets (*laskiwnictwo i uwielbienie*) at all PGP and OGP sessions in Moscow that any of the party meetings at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw or even those held in Cairo or Djakarta could be regarded as being very interesting when compared with those held in USSR.

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#### **IV. Party Organizations Among Polish Students in USSR**

During the 1955-56 academic year 1,800 university and graduate students studied in various Soviet institutions of learning. Even though this number decreased following the October 1956 political upheaval, a substantial number of students continue to attend courses at various Soviet institutions. The 1,800 students were at the following localities:

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<u>Locality</u>	<u>Regular Students (Approximate Numbers Given)</u>	<u>Graduate Students</u>
Khartov	100	3
Dnepropetrovsk	40	
Gorki	60	2
Ivanovo	20	
Kazan	80	
Kiev	90	2
Leningrad	250	100
Mikhurinsk	10	
Minsk	20	
Moscow	400	190
Nizhnechertensk	20	
Odesa	150	1
Rostov on Don	40	
Saratov	30	
Staline	40	
Sverdlovsk	150	
Tbilisi		1

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All of the regular as well as graduate students belonged to "Nationality Groups" (gromady) which were organized at the institutions which they attended. The central headquarters of these Nationality Groups were located in the Polish Embassy in Moscow. This organization was the equivalent of the Association of Polish Students (Zrzeszenie Studentow Polskich - ZSP) in Poland. Approximately 25% of the 1,600 students belonged to the PZPR or were candidates for party membership.

this represents the ratio of non-party to party member students presently attending various institutions of learning in the Soviet Union. The remainder were mostly members of the former Association of Polish Students (Zrzeszenie Mlodziezy Polskiej - ZMP) in Poland. However, since the ZMP was not active in the USSR, the students limited their membership to the Nationality Groups. The party members among the undergraduate and graduate students were organized into student POPs in each of the localities listed above. 50X1-HUM

Each year student POPs elected their own officers, who conducted regular meetings, collected dues from the members, accepted new candidates for membership, arranged programs of political education and carried on other party activities.

All Polish student POPs and OOPs within the Soviet Union reported to a PZPR Party Commission, which was attached to the Polish Embassy in Moscow and which performed the same functions as the County Committee or the Municipal Committee of the PZPR inside Poland. Members of this Party Commission were not elected to their posts, but were appointed by the Foreign Section (later the Foreign Commission) of the Central Committee in Warsaw. The Moscow Party Commission consisted of a Chairman-Ambassador Wacław LEWIKOWSKI, the Director of the Student Department (who was also First Secretary of Embassy) - Władysław NAPIERAJ, an employee in the Student Department who was also Second Secretary of Embassy, Józef TRUBSKI (he worked for the Security Police in Poland for many years prior to his assignment to Moscow), an employee in the Student Department and also Second Secretary of Embassy - Edward KROLICKI, the Secretary of the Embassy POP and First Secretary of Embassy Józef Banak, the Secretary of the Student POP in Moscow (elected by the students), and the Chairman of Nationality Group Headquarters organization in USSR (elected by students).

The Party Commission worked directly for the Foreign Section of the Central Committee in Warsaw. It maintained careful control and acted as coordinator of all Polish undergraduate and graduate student political activity within the Soviet Union. It also approved all decisions of POPs concerning the acceptance of candidates for membership as well as new PZPR members and reviewed all POP-OOP activities involving political or party matters. It reviewed all disciplinary action taken against the students. The Party Commission met two or three times each month. Minutes were kept at each meeting; these minutes were forwarded to the Foreign Section in Warsaw.

Since the PZPR and the Polish government hoped to develop these students attending Soviet institutions into future "builders of socialism" in Poland, they placed many advantages at their disposal which none of the students in Poland could ever possess. All of those selected were carefully picked before being accepted for

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Comm. of PZPR in Warsaw****Educational Dept. of  
Central Comm. of PZPR****Individual Central Comm.  
Departments in Warsaw****Ministry of Higher  
Education in Warsaw****Ministry of For.  
Affairs in Warsaw****Central Council of Assoc.  
of Polish Students in  
Warsaw****Party Commission for  
Polish Students in USSR  
in Moscow****Central Headquarters of  
Polish Nationality Groups  
in USSR (in Moscow)****Student Department in  
Polish Embassy in Moscow****Number of Students****Undergraduate****Graduate**

<b>Student POP Kharkov</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Nationality Group Kharkov</b>
<b>Student POP Dnepropetrovsk</b>	<b>40</b>		<b>Nationality Group Dnepropetrovsk</b>
<b>Student POP Gorki</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Nationality Group Gorki</b>
<b>Student POP Ivanovo</b>	<b>20</b>		<b>Nationality Group Ivanovo</b>
<b>Student POP Kazna</b>	<b>80</b>		<b>Nationality Group Kazna</b>
<b>Student POP Kiev</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Nationality Group Kiev</b>
<b>Student POP Leningrad</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Nationality Group Leningrad</b>
<b>Student POP Mishurinsk</b>	<b>10</b>		<b>Nationality Group Mishurinsk</b>
<b>Student POP Minsk</b>	<b>20</b>		<b>Nationality Group Minsk</b>
<b>Student POP Moscow</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>Nationality Group Moscow</b>

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**CONFIDENTIAL****Number of Students**

	<b><u>Undergraduate</u></b>	<b><u>Graduate</u></b>	
<b>Student POP</b> <b>Novosibirsk</b>	20		<b>Nationality Group</b> <b>Novosibirsk</b>
<b>Student POP</b> <b>Odessa</b>	150	1	<b>Nationality Group</b> <b>Odessa</b>
<b>Student POP</b> <b>Rostov on Don</b>	40		<b>Nationality Group</b> <b>Rostov on Don</b>
<b>Student POP</b> <b>Saratov</b>	30		<b>Nationality Group</b> <b>Saratov</b>
<b>Student POP</b> <b>Staline</b>	40		<b>Nationality Group</b> <b>Staline</b>
<b>Student POP</b> <b>Sverdlovsk</b>	150		<b>Nationality Group</b> <b>Sverdlovsk</b>

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